1:Baldus--74 E-S (1935,1947)1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

lay tree stumps and felled trunks (cf. Photo. 67). Only the village square had remained, up to a point, free from these obstructions. The trunks served as seats and, bit by bit, as firewood. They lay in such numbers over the vast area stretching between the houses and the edge of the forest, and were so entangled and ensnarled by their branches, that the imaginative Madame de la Falaise (196), who visited Tampiitama on August 23, 1935, that is to say, shortly after my departure, went so far as to write the following: "We proceeded toward the village, where the tribe, for fear of armed aggression, has fortified the surroundings. The felled, tangled trees, the traps and ingenious obstacles, are discouraging. The boldest aggressor would break his neck long before he got the better of them" [translated from French].

In this respect, however, I must confess that the only serious obstacles I encountered daily on crossing the area in question were the products of the tribal digestive processes, for the supposed fortification held no role other than that of a huge toilet. [110: 192] I do not wish to determine whether such obstacles may be termed "ingenious," but I wish to emphasize that they did not discourage me. The truth is that the Tapirapé do not fortify their village in any way, and differ in this respect from the Tupinambá, who surrounded their villages (Jean Parmentier apud J.F. de Almeida Prado, 180; Hans Staden, p. 3; Gabriel Soares de Sousa, 366). The "traps and ingenious obstacles" mentioned above exist only in the imagination of the author. Even the act of placing sentries, a precaution referred to in Chapter 5, is strikingly inconsistent with the natural bent of the Tapirapé.

Toward the east a stream meandered, a few paces from the village. Its clear, fresh waters ran free of the thick forest for only a short stretch, which was used at the same time as bathroom and drinking fountain, and as a spot for fishing and for washing the sleeping hammocks. A well-beaten path led from it to the village plaza, skirting a plot of sugar cane to the left. According to what Reverend Kegel told me, this plot resulted from collective labor performed for Kamairahó. The latter had ruled on the site of the plot and concurrently on that of the village, which had been built later beside the communally prepared garden. It was, so to speak, a luxury plot, for it contained nothing but the sweet grass

516 directly upon the ground. Actually, the manner of sitting is
562 one of the cultural traits in which the sexes are radically differentiated among the Tapirapé. A woman, when she is not sitting in her hammock, sits on the ground without previously covering it, and only exceptionally does she sit on a tree trunk beside her husband (cf. Photo. 58). She always hides her sexual organs, [534] however, either by covering them with the hand or with a leg folded against the body while the other leg is stretched out (Photo. 59) or by crossing her legs (Photos. 11 and 32). When she wields the pestle and kneels to hold the mortar between her knees, this object hides, up to a point, her sexual organs (Baldus 7, Fig. 31). The men usually sit with open legs and cover the ground with a mat (Photo. 53) or a piece of cloth (Photo. 63), when they do not squat (Photo. 38) or sit on a tree trunk (Photo. 61). When several of them sit on the same trunk, they prefer to press close together rather than to leave space between them. When eating at home, the husband eases himself into the net while the woman sits before him on the floor. [Ed., two paragraphs are omitted.]

171 The Tapirapé resemble the majority of Brazilian tribes in not
354 having any special implements to light up their houses, but merely relying at night on the weak flames of their fires for the purpose.

572 I did not witness the making of fire among the Tapirapé, for
171 they never allowed it to go out and carried burning sticks with them on their journeys. In Wagley's collection at the National Museum [Rio de Janeiro], however, there are fire drills to indicate that this tribe, whenever necessary, makes fire by the process used in all [111:116] Brazilian tribes and already described and reproduced in Hans Staden's woodcuts (p 3), that is to say, by twirling between the open hands a rod resting perpendicularly on a piece of wood.

To kindle the fire, the Tapirapé use fans which are made, as in a number of Tupi tribes (cf. Métraux 2, 101), of plaited palm leaves. The Tupinambá also had fans for this purpose, as is shown in one of Staden's woodcuts (t 1).

When the inhabitants of Tamplitaua leave the house at night [514] to answer the calls of nature, they light their way with a burning stick which they wave about constantly to prevent the fire from dying out. Adalbert, Prince of Prussia (679), when he traveled in

372 191 Juruna [Yuruna] territory, called this habit of waving a burning piece of wood to one side and another "the Indian way" in his diary. Among the Tapirapé, the burning sticks shaken in this 372 fashion serve as nocturnal protection against certain anchinga, 776 that is to say, evil spirits. Hans Staden (p 4) also wrote of the 811 Tupinambá: "At night, when they must attend to their needs, they do not like to leave their houses without taking a light, for such is their fear of the devil called Ingange and frequently seen by them." According to Koch-Grünberg (2, III, 168), the fear of evil spirits (mawarí) impels the Taulipáng to carry a burning stick when they leave the house at night.

In spite of the constant danger presented by the anchinga and 514 naturally also by the fearsome Kayapó neighbors, the Tapirapé never defecate near the house even at night, but go into the labyrinth of felled trunks lying between the village and the forest, far enough so the clean open spaces near the dwelling will not be soiled and the odor of the feces will not reach the house. The [195] custom of retiring to a good distance for this purpose is embodied in the expression kaa-pe-pyá ("belly-to-the-woods"), or to translate it more freely, "I shall now take my belly toward the woods," a phrase with which every well-bred lady in Tampiitaua must announce to her housemates her intention to go and defecate.

When it comes to urinating, however, these women are not quite as formal. When we rose from a night session carried out in front of the house and presided over by Kamairabó, the moon was out and I could see dark spots on the ground where members of the female sex had been sitting. Without moving or showing the slightest sign of unrest, the ladies, young and old, who had been sitting around us, had urinated copiously while the great man and I aired the most profound mythological questions. Apparently, the wet spots on which they sat had not been overly unpleasant to them.

Naturally, a woman who is standing does not sit directly upon the ground, but squats, when she wishes to urinate. The men also adopt this position. There were some interesting endeavors at 177 cultural change in this respect, however. Once, some time after 514 my arrival in the village, while I urinated in the neighboring woods, I was surprised to see several young men imitate me by standing also. No sooner had they started out in this way, however,